DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 290 183 CS 506 012

AUTHOR Dick, Robert C.
TITLE ARAMCO Education: Teaching Speech Communication to a Sub-Culture in Saudi Arabia.
PUB DATE Aug 87
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the World Communication Association Convention (Norwich, England, August 1987).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adjustment (to Environment); Adults; Course Content; Cultural Awareness; *Cultural Differences; Foreign Countries; *Intercultural Communication; *Islamic Culture; *Speech Communication; *Speech Instruction
IDENTIFIERS *Saudi Arabia

ABSTRACT

Based on experiences gained by an educator from Indiana University who taught a speech communication course in Saudi Arabia, this paper details the adaptations the educator had to make in order to teach Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) employees and their spouses in the politically difficult period of 1981-82. Following a brief background sketch of ARAMCO and the diverse population enrolled in the class, the paper discusses the cultural context of the class, specifically the influence of the Islamic religion. The paper next reviews the adaptations in textbook material necessitated by cultural demands, and the difficulties involved in conducting classroom critiques of student performances. This is followed by discussions of cultural differences in thought processes, speaker credibility, speaker style and delivery, and ideas of censorship. The paper concludes with a brief review of the events that have taken place in Saudi Arabia since 1982. (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED290183

ARAMCO Education: Teaching Speech Communication to a Sub-Culture in Saudi Arabia

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Robert C. Dick

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

by

Robert C. Dick

Indiana University, Indianapolis

Presented

at

The World Communication Association Convention

University of East Anglia

August 4, 1987

CS506012

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Introduction

The time is Fall, 1981. Iran and Iraq have been at war for nearly a year. American hostages in Iran finally have been released but anti-U.S. feelings have reached a new peak in Teheran. Libya's Qaddafi has joined the Ayatollah in asserting that monarchy is incompatible with Islam and that the House of Saud is a puppet of American interests in the Middle East. Plots by Khomeini disciples to destabilize Bahrain and Saudi Arabia have been uncovered. Recently the U.S. shot down two Libyan fighter planes in Saudi air space and more of Qaddafi's planes have since invaded that same space. After much debate, the U.S. has reluctantly agreed to send four AWAC aircraft to Saudi Arabia so they can better patrol their own borders. High prices for oil have driven consumption down and soon Yamani will predict a big glut in the oil market and a price collapse for Saudi Arabia and OPEC. The world is still in shock and mourning as America's friend Anwar Sadat was assassinated by troops in his own Egyptian army.

In the midst of this climate, I accepted an assignment by Indiana University to teach a communication class for the Arabian American Oil Company, ARAMCO, in Saudi Arabia. After a brief orientation session in November, 1981, I was dispatched to teach a three semester-hour course there, from our curriculum and with regular academic credit to be assigned to the enrollees. With my disciplinary emphasis, I already believed the motto: "Intercultural Communication--Don't Leave Home Without It." Yet, with all the aforementioned foment in the Middle East, I was especially anxious to know the cultural values and concerns of the persons I was to be teaching communication.

Much good information has been written about cultural characteristics inherent in the communication of Middle Easterners or Arabs in general, and even some materials on those elements more unique to inhabitants of individual countries in that part of the world, including Saudi Arabia. This primarily is

an exploration of adaptations I made for teaching a speech communication class to the subcultural collection of ARAMCO employees and spouses assigned to me.

ARAMCO has been in operation, with different managerial arrangements, since the 1930's, and had cooperated with Saudi Arabia during that time to observe cultural and religious practices and principles. There had been an effort at Saudization, through working to incorporate more and more Saudis into managerial and skilled-labor positions; by the mid-1980's, they had gained complete managerial control of the company. Further, as needed, workers from other nations, TCN's or Third Country Nationals, had been added to the work force, especially from countries in the Middle East. There were many Western companies, agencies, and industries that were contractually affiliated with ARAMCO while many others were not. Altogether they represented to that culture the forces of Westernization or modernization. I symbolized that outside influence. My classroom was in the Educational Training Center of the Dhahran compound in the eastern section of the country, near the Gulf of Arabia. It was a modern facility with a complete line of the latest technical equipment.

The class of students was somewhat different from the general impression given at the orientation session. I had been told that many of my students would be American-born ARAMCO employees and/or their spouses. Of my twenty enrollees, there were five natives from Saudi Arabia, six from India, four from Pakistan, and one from Yemen. Only four students spoke English as their primary language--one of these was from Ireland and the other three from the United States. Yet, in all but three cases, the students had a reasonably good command of the English language. They had received relatively strong basic educations, unlike large numbers of Saudi Arabian natives, and most were working to better their prospects for upward mobility in the company.

Cultural Context

In order to determine specifics for classroom adaptation, one first must study the general cultural environment within which ARAMCO functions.

One of the most thorough and current reports on the closed society of Saudi Arabia was given by Sandra Mackey, who spent four years as an underground journalist using the male pseudonyms Michael Collins and Justin Coe. From 1978 to 1980 and again from 1982 to 1984, she wrote analyses for American publications while working for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and then for the Saudi Ministry of Planning. In analyzing the cultural characteristics, Mackey observed that "Bedouin ancestors have left the modern-day Saudi with much of his value system . . . . It is the Bedouin's idealized values of courage, bravery, hospitality, and honor that underlie all Saudi society---urban, rural, and nomadic. Courage can best be defined by the ability to endure deprivation, withstand physical pain, or suffer emotional stress without showing signs of suffering. In other words, it is stoicism. Bravery, on the other hand, is a man's willingness to risk his life for the group."[1]

Pervading the country as well as all of the Middle East is the Islam religion in its multiple forms. Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss tells us that Islamic religion is incapable of tolerating the existence of others. The only means Muslims have of protecting themselves against doubt and humiliation is "negativization" of others who have different faiths and different ways of life. Levi-Strauss went so far as to say that "contact with non-Moslems distresses Moslems."[2] Throughout Saudi Arabia, the masses of ordinary citizens cling to their religion with a tenacity which outsiders must recognize. Islam restores the claims of their heritage over the "false values" they believe the West has imposed on their culture. "For the lower classes, never separated from the puritanism of Wahhabism [a fundamental sect of Islam], religion provides their reason for railing against the class system that can develop."[3]

They sense a danger of being corrupted from contact with foreigners. For them, Wahhabism is "valid only as long as it is not challenged by other ideas and philosophies."[4] This promotes a significant consideration for Western educators who feel that learning and progress take place by challenging ideas and philosophies in argumentation and debate. Yet, some Westerners have tended to exacerbate this educational problem by remaining ignorant and perceiving themselves as missionaries who should impose their enlightened ways on the "heathens" of the world. As anthropologist Edward T. Hall, tells us: "We tend to think of Arabs as underdeveloped Americans--Americans with sheets on . . . . All we have to do is make believers out of them, get them proper education, teach them English, and they will turn into Americans."[5] Sensitive educators should note that such is not the case. Yet, Western academics well could be aggravating the problem by behaviors, communicative and otherwise, which ignore Middle Eastern values. Mackey tells us that "the Saudis have now found an idea with which to oppose the House of Saud that is not dependent on sharp class distinctions or a competing political philosophy. That ideology is anti-Westernism. Anti-Westernism rose out of the oil boom, was nurtured in the economic downturn, and was inspired by the revolutionary rhetoric of Iran."[6] The revolutionary arguments of Iran are alluring because they are "closer to the ideals espoused by Mohammed."[7]

So, on a broader scale, the House of Saud and ARAMCO walk a tight-rope when they address the religious tenets of the Saudis while catering to the attitudes and values of Westerners. It is a conflict between tradition and progress which still plagues that country.

The ARAMCO class I taught included Middle Easterners who knew English, who were exposed to Westernization and modernization, and yet were trying to hold onto basic values with which they were raised. They had fit into ARAMCO's time structure, working on a tight schedule all day, and yet were given breaks at

appropriate intervals during the day to meet the Islamic schedule for prayers. After working all day, and travelling by bus or car, some from other compounds such as Abqaiq and Ras Tanura, to Dhahran, they spent three-hours per evening for five evenings a week in my class. No classes could be scheduled on their religious holiday, Friday, and I could arbitrarily select one other week-day for class not to meet. This was a demanding schedule for people from a culture with a different concept of chronology. Further, while Saudis pride themselves on "the purity of their Arabic,"[8] they knew and were exposed to English all day and now all evening. And they were taking or had taken academic classes which promoted different thought processes and learning patterns from those based exclusively on studying the Kuran.

There were Muslims in our class with qualities some academics would say make them marginal persons. Raphael Patai has said that the "marginal person is marginal, not because he is unable to acquire the intellectual thought processes of the culture he wants to assimilate, nor because he is unable to free himself of the thought processes of the culture on which he has turned his back. He is marginal because he is unable to identify with either of the two cultures."[9] With those ARAMCO employees who were culturally marginal, the prospects for clear-cut adaptation by a communication professor were non-existent. Nonetheless, forthwith are some principles and guidelines which were uniquely adapted to these ARAMCO students; some might be applicable in other educational circumstances in the Middle East. Regardless, they might suggest the types of multi-cultural and subcultural problems to be addressed by Western communication professors in various parts of the world.

Textual Material

In order for better adjustment to take place in terms of cultural values, beliefs, mores, reasoning processes and the like, it would be ideal to design a text for the specific group(s) being taught. Such would attempt to set forth

the values of each culture involved in the least offensive way. Even in an oral communication class, much dependence must be placed on printed material for out-of-class study, so textbooks and other literature should be oriented as much as possible to the multi-cultural class. It should be remembered that the overseas students could lack familiarity with American cultural values and practices which are so familiar to the instructor and permeating his instructional materials. My text materials had to be those written primarily by Americans for consumption by American students. Thus, there was understandably some cultural bias. Two conductors of management education seminars, Yohanna Abraham and William Cunningham have encountered similar problems, and have soundly advocated that "an active effort needs to be mobilized to incorporate the expertise of educators, publishers, planners, and administrators in bringing about this revolution in the [intercultural] preparation of text material."[10]

Classroom Criticism

Criticism of oral communication is problematic generally but perhaps even more so for Saudi Arabians and some other Middle Easterners. Communication instructors usually attempt to make some favorable comments before rendering negative criticism and to let the student know that it is the act and not the person needing improvement. That practice becomes even more necessary when the person criticized has been raised in a culture where "honor" and "saving face" are valued above many other phenomena, such as honesty, correctness, mastery, or accomplishment. What has been said of some Saudi employers applies to those in ARAMCO as well, depending on the extent to which they have been exposed to and have learned to tolerate Western ways. Mackey observed that Saudi employers "usually will regard intellectual honesty in the form of criticism as a personal insult." It is good practice for one to flatter the person's "acumen before he delivers the unpleasant facts. And when these facts are laid out, they must be presented" so as not to reflect directly on the Saudi. It is

the "intensity of the need to hide shortcomings and failures in order to preserve appearances and save self-respect that sets the Saudis apart." This also has been the conclusion of teachers who were brought in to instruct the Saudis in English.[11]

Sometimes it appears to be the Western way to be direct and incisive. In criticizing Middle Eastern students' communication, along with keeping it from being "personal," one should avoid the bluntness which often is seen by Westerners as more efficient, less ponderous and less confusing. While efficiency and anti-ponderousness are valued highly by Americans, they need to be toned-down or compromised if effectively used on Middle-Easterners, particularly Saudis.

Thought Process

The thought process and its components of reasoning, arguments, evidence, refutation and the like, classically encompassed by the term logos, take on different characteristics by some Middle Eastern students. Our modes, with an Aristotelian base, involve projective, inferential, inventive decision-making, which many of my ARAMCO students were conversant with, but some not so well. Such inferences are made from evidence and supporting material which is derived from multiple sources in the West. In a study on Arab Nonverbal and Paralinguistic Communication, Safadi and Valentine tell us that "Arabs generally learn by rote. Details are memorized and retained. On the other hand, Americans are taught to infer, to look at the broader picture and future ramifications, and to improvise. Arabs refer to the Koran and to proverbs for examples."[12]

Just as the word Islam in Arabic means submission, the faithful Muslims submit unreservedly to God's will as set forth in the Kuran and transmitted to them by his messenger, Muhammed. With the Kuran as its foundation, the legal system of Saudi Arabia is the shariah, rather than a written constitution and manmade legislative acts. The shariah "covers all aspects of public and

private, social and economic, religious and political lives of all Muslims."[13] In Saudi Arabia, it is the law of the land, and ARAMCO essentially abides by it. Instructors in the United States have difficulty on those rare occasions when students use the Bible as almost the only source of evidence on a religious or moral matter; imagine the situation in Saudi Arabia, where a specific religious doctrine is essentially the undebatable word on all subjects affecting one's life.

Underlying the Kuran is a network of three sources for the shariah: (1) the sunnah or meticulously documented acts and sayings of the Prophet Muhammed, recorded in a body of writings called the hadith, (2) ijama, the consensus of qualified jurists on matters not specifically referred to in the Kuran or sunnah, and (3) qiyas, the application of human reasoning to extend the principles found in the two primary sources--the Kuran and the sunnah--to cases involving matters unknown in the early years of Islam. Qiyas, then, is reasoning by analogy.[14] So there is a specialized reasoning process in the Muslim students which must be understood by a Western teacher who wants to be communicatively supportive while attempting to suggest that there are other processes which are understood and employed by some audiences.

A classical example of the Muslim reasoning construct was used by the Yemenite in my class, Saeed M. Abdulla, who argued for polygamy; Saeed has two wives. His arguments were first based on Kuranic passages explaining the circumstances and regulations under which polygamy may be practiced by Muslims. He enhanced this with sayings from prophets.

Islam offers "permission to the unhappy and dissatisfied husband to marry a second wife and live with her openly in a responsible way with equal fulfillment of obligations to the first wife and to the second. Similarly it helps unmarried women satisfy their needs, realize their longings and fulfill their legitimate aspirations and natural desires."[15] Analogously, Saeed showed how

his own situation fit the Islamic doctrine set forth in one of the Kuranic passages:

> Marry women of your choice, two or three, or four; BUT IF YOU FEAR THAT YOU SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO DEAL JUSTLY WITH THEM, THEN ONLY ONE. That will be more suitable to prevent you from doing injustice.[16]

The above passage was revealed after a major battle in which many Muslims were killed, leaving widows and orphans for whom due care was incumbent upon Muslim survivors. Plurality of wives was one way of protecting those widows and orphans. In Saeed's case, the current wife was "incapable of fulfilling her marital obligations after having six children, so he became the "dissatisfied husband." Consequently, he and his first wife discussed the matter and decided that he should marry a second wife while keeping the first and her children in a separate household; Saeed's first wife recommended three candidates, one of whom became his second wife.

The conclusion gave appeals which attached Islamic values similar to universally accepted ones such as love, belongingness, contentment, and loyalty:

> Looking back now to 1969, I still feel that our decision to go ahead and marry my second wife was a sound decision. Thanks to Islamic values! That decision has kept my family together; I retained loyalty of my first wife and I also gave myself a chance to establish a new family with a loving wife and four splendid children. It gave me the peace of mind that I almost lost before I married my second wife. Polygamy is the answer to similar problems where there is a need for it.[17]

Polygamy is not widely practiced in Saudi Arabia; but, to paraphrase a

senatorial statement during the debates on Mormon polygamy in America, many Saudis do not polyg just as many Americans do not monog. Regardless, Islam provided valid bases for advocating polygamous marriage to the class. It was as incumbent upon Westerners of the class to have some general understanding of the cultural value system from which Muslims argued as it was for Muslims to understand Western value assumptions. On such diametrically opposing issues as polygamy vs. monogamy there primarily was an effort by communicators to develop supportiveness and understanding of respective cultures.

When I was in Saudi Arabia, I was told an anecdote which I got confirmed by natives. That is, passengers in a taxi there are responsible for the accident because of a theory relating to the fatalism of Islam; if the passenger had not hired the taxi, it would not have been where the accident occurred.

In a seminar on technology transfer in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in 1983, Clifton Campbell presented a discourse based on assumptions that all should agree upon. He asserted that "what is reasonable, logical, and self-evident to an American may be unreasonable, illogical, and not self-evident to [a] Middle Easterner. We may often sound just as illogical to them as they do to us."[18] Our ARAMCO class proceeded with the assumption that "If we hold to our own perception of reality, we never see the other person's viewpoint, and that makes communication very difficult."[19] In short, this subculture, which I presume was very representative of ARAMCO, demonstrated capability for understanding different lines of reasoning and frames of reference.

Credibility

Speaker credibility is vital in any communication, but possibly takes on an even more significant role in a "high-context" society such as Saudi Arabia. In America, a low-context society, a relative mass of meaning and data is in the message itself. In contrast, Edward T. Hall tells us that "a high context communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in

the physical context or internalized in the person while very little is in the coded, explicity, transmitted part of the message."[20] Some of that high context is placed not just in the intuitive perception of the speaker's honesty but in his status, e.g., the assessment of Oliver North's honesty probably would be less on his stated testimony than on his being a Lieutenant Colonel. The Middle Easterners in general and Saudi Arabians in particular are "constantly aware of their vertical social and business hierarchies and their interdependence in binding relationships."[21] This emphasis on hierarchy could be a significant factor in selecting and documenting sources of evidence, or in determining how data are being interpreted.

Closely related to status is the need for face-saving, particularly for those who happen to have higher status. In Western culture, significant emphasis is placed on goal attainment, and frequently personal feelings are subordinated. In Saudi Arabia, protecting the personal ego assumes unquestioned priority. When involved in a project, the Saudi's goal is to maintain his honor, while the Westerner's goal often is to complete a task. Perhaps the "concept of honor, or preserving 'face,' is the most compelling characteristic of the Saudi psyche and the more difficult aspect of the Saudi personality for the Westerner to fathom."[22]

The extent to which this could become a barrier to honest communication was given in Mackey's book. She told of the consultant from the Stanford Research Institute who was working on an important project for the "Third Development Plan" in the late seventies. He had spent weeks juggling figures supplied by the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals. The data simply made no sense. After a stormy confrontation "the Saudi who had given him the information reluctantly confessed that the numbers were wrong, but since they had been signed and certified by the Deputy Minister they could not be changed without causing the Minister intolerable loss of face."[23]

Regardless of the quality of education and knowledge of a Muslim listener, there is a certain shadow cast over the communicator's credibility because he/she is of a different faith. Fathi Yousef has suggested that overall "in the Middle East, an individual's appeal, reliability, and soundness of character are considered directly related to how religious the individual is."[24] Credibility and religion were a factor for the class to consider in message development.

Style

The students in our ARAMCO class who had spoken Arabic as their first language, were proud of that language, and the style of Arabic influenced their use of English. They loved the appearance of written and the poetic sound of spoken Arabic words. In enumerating Arabic behaviors, one authority emphasized that "Arabs like expressiveness and assertiveness and expect periodic displays of emotion."[25] The love of language was expressed by my only drop-out, a Pakistani student named Yusef Abbasi, in an inscription on a copy of the Kuran, which he presented as a gift at a going-away party for me:

> This is the only true book left in this universe to guide mankind toward success in this life and hereafter. Please read this and try to understand it. Translation from Arabic to English is not as impressive as actual Arabic script. However, if you read it with the intention to get guidance you will get it.

One characteristic of Arabic rhetorical style which was alluded to under "Classroom Criticism," is the tendency to avoid directness by dwelling on a subject in a more circuitous way. In perhaps a less appreciative manner, Campbell tells us that Saudis "love the spoken word, tend to ramble and don't get to the point quickly." Campbell gives sound advice which fits non-Arabs in an ARAMCO classroom or elsewhere; he suggests that "it is unwise to exhibit

impatience or annoyance at this. Arabs may be offended at your lack of appreciation of their eloquence."[26]

It is generally recognized that a simple, single nod to imply "yes" or the head-shaking to imply "no," means "MAYBE or even the opposite in Saudi Arabia. Therefore the elaborate Arab style well could help to avoid what the Arabs interpret as an "insincere" or "too-much-too-soon" exhibition of Western low-context behavior, and at the same time elicit a more sincere "yes" or "no" response. This can be achieved if one will amplify, "repeat and emphasize."[27]

An instructor as well as a general receiver of communicative messages needs to beware of the overall value Saudis place on language and face-saving compared with other communicative elements, such as logical accuracy. Although there were notable exceptions in my class, it can be concluded that "because of his love of language, a Saudi is swayed more by words than ideas, and more by ideas than facts."[28] A certain amount of wordiness appears necessary to persuade, and particularly to avoid alienation in that environment.

Delivery

Delivery manner for Saudis, including many of those in my ARAMCO class, is relatively more serious and intense than in the United States, but it is friendly nonetheless. In the U.S., persons in communication classes are encouraged to smile and appear relaxed and congenial when speaking, but this manner is not the expectation or standard for speaking in Saudi Arabia. The cultural explanation for this was given by Yousef who had rightly observed that in the Middle East children from an early age are taught that in public one looks serious and acts somberly; he asserts that among Middle Easterners "public manifestations of friendliness American style invite opprobrium and disrespect."[29]

Physical delivery in the class was not greatly different from that in America. The Middle Easterners have a closer stance for interpersonal communication whereas the Americans prefer a greater social distance; but, in the

public communication environment the physical distance did not appear to be a significant matter. Likewise, Saudis fix a more extended eye-gaze on specific individuals during classroom presentations, but this was hardly significant. In their interpersonal interactions, those who were not from the Middle East were generally aware of the greater closeness and more constant eye-gaze of their classmates.

Censorship

The freedom of speech and press does not exist in Saudi Arabia as one would desire; this sometimes had an effect on materials to be read or discussed by students in the ARAMCO compound.

Two of my students were Saudi females who had gone to the same primary and secondary schools in a city near Dhahran. They wanted to speak on the role of women in education in Saudi Arabia. That apparently involved some taboo data. The girls asked their local school for information on the academic philosophy, structure, methods, procedures, and the like of schools for women such as the one they attended. Reportedly, they were informed that it was not proper for them to have that kind of information or speak on that kind of subject. Thus, we sought an alternative. Of course, the role of women in Saudi Arabia is a terribly complex subject. Saudi women were not even allowed public education until 1961. And now they have their own institutions of higher learning. On the ARAMCO compound, per se, females were afforded much more freedom than elsewhere. The propriety of addressing females, or discussing them in the rest of the country, was an involved subject in itself.

Freedom of the press was also limited to Westerners in some ways. Western magazines were censored at the post offices. A couple with whom I dined in Ras Tanura showed me magazines in which numerous pages had been removed. Thinking it might be an isolated instance or strictly a procedure affecting Westerners, I soon discovered that the Saudi government employs hundreds of manual laborers

to ink out or remove ads for alcohol or pictures of scantily clad women or "objectionable articles" in imported magazines.

Unlike in Western culture, where multiple news media and communication in general are seen as a virtue, in the Middle East open communication is seen as a danger and threat to the "values and ideals" that we feel are enhanced by that same open communication. Because of advanced orientation, the ARAMCO instructors did not take any "objectionable" materials, and did not receive any known infringement on their first amendment rights. I was able to convey the need for understanding values of others and to work toward opening intercultural communication channels.

Conclusion

Two years ago, the agreement ran out between ARAMCO and Indiana University. The need for understanding and communication between the West and Middle East continues.

Now it is estimated that there are 150,000 Shiites in and immediately around the ARAMCO compounds. They have gained power in the oil fields and management of ARAMCO through willingness to do manual labor and through their ambition for education. The challenge continues to be the creation of cultural understanding between Shiites and Pro-Western Arabs there. If I taught better communication skills to this sub-culture of Pro-Western Muslims in my ARAMCO class through the above adaptations, I hope to have done so without worsening their division with the Shiites. That division was portrayed vividly on August 1, 1987; Iran reacted to the previous weekend's riots in Mecca by declaring a "day of hatred" against the United States and urging attacks on American and Saudi Arabian targets to avenge the "innocent martyrs." In a message sent to his Saudi counterpart, the Iranian Interior Minister called on the "courageous mobilised people in the Persian Gulf [to] take revenge on the U.S. forces for the pure blood of the pilgrims of the House of God."[30]

ENDNOTES

1. Sandra Mackey, The Saudis: Inside the Desert Kingdom (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), 115.

2. Cited in Fouad Ajami, The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 16.

3. Mackey, 398.

4. Ibid, 33.

5. Edward T. Hall interviewed by Kenneth Friedman, "Learning the Arabic Silent Language, "Psychology Today," 13, (1979), 45.

6. Mackey, 399.

7. Ibid., 395.

8. Ibid., 397.

9. Raphael Patai, The Arab Mind, (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1976), 190.

10. Abraham T. Yohannan and William K. Cunningham, "International Barriers and Management Education," Educational Resources Information Center, ED 258 274 (1984), 9.

11. Mackey, 119.

12. Michaela Safadi and Carol Valentine, "A Contrastive Analysis of American and Arab Nonverbal and Paralinguistic Communication," Educational Resources Information Center, ED 272 935 (1985) 15.

13. Ismail I. Nawwab et al (eds), ARAMCO and its World: Arabia and the Middle East, (Netherlands: Van Boekhoven - Bosch B.V. and Boom-Ruygrok B.V., 1980), 50-5.

14. Ibid.

15. Saeed M. Abdulla, "Case for Polygamy," An unpublished ms. Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, December 7, 1981, 2.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 6

18. Clifton P. Campbell, "International Communication (with Special Attention to the English Language Capabilities of Saudi Arabian Students), "Educational Resources Information Center, ED226 373 (1983),9.

19. Ibid., 11.

20. Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 79.

21. Fathi S. Yousef, "North Americans in the Middle East: Aspects of the Roles of Friendliness, Religion, and Women in Cross-Cultural Relations," in Larry Samovar Richard Porter (eds), Intercultural Communication, Fourth Edition (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1985), 85.

22. Mackey, 117.

23. Ibid., 120

24. Yousef, 79.

25. Campbell, 50.

26. Ibid, 20.

27. Steve Hawkins, "How to Understand Your Partner's Cultural Baggage," International Management, 38,(1983), 50.

28. Mackey, 181.

29. Yousef, 80.

30. Con Coughlin, "Saudis and US Face Wrath of Iranians,," London Daily Telegraph, August 3, 1987, 1.